UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

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Pay Checks and Bread Lines

By Maynard Shipley

Jesus and Jew-Baiting

By Robert Whitaker

(The first of two articles on the Jewish question. The second, Revolution and the Jew will appear in issue of October 15th.)

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Progress of the Pact of Paris

By Salmon O. Levinson

Pioneer of the Idea of Outlawing War by International Agreement. Aristide Briand Called Him the "Real Father of the Pact of Paris."

The sixth birthday of the first international law against war as a method of settling disputes is an appropriate time to consider its present status and its future prospects.

There is ample justification for doubt, cynicism and even pessimism, at least on the surface of things. Japan clearly defied and violated the Briand-Kellogg treaty in 1931 in Manchuria. Russia had come close to doing so in the same region in 1929.

Bolivia and Paraguay have been spending the American bondholders' money in fighting over an 80-year-old treaty relating to the Chaco, which isn't worth the price of admission. Their latinic blood has been up for three years and their commitment to "no more war" under the Peace Pact seems not to have occurred to them. And Peru and Colombia almost followed suit.

What of it? The Pact of Paris is a law of nations. It is just plain law. Well, what laws, national or international, have been sacredly observed and never broken? Since when does the violation of a law work its repeal or render it a dead letter? Laws represent restraints on human nature and human nature has a way of occasionally kicking over the traces.

Now I contend that the anti-war treaty, suddenly adopted by a world dominated by war and its traditions, has made giant strides. Perhaps the outlawry of war had a premature birth. Certainly I did not expect to see it flower into law before at least 25 years of campaigning and education away from the glories of war.

Let me put to you what seems to me the real test of the treaty's permanency and ultimate success. We have seen Japan defiantly withdraw from the League of Nations. We have seen Nazi Germany leave both the League and the Disarmament Conference. But we have not seen and will not see, Japan, Germany,

(*Continued on Page* 59)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXIV MONDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1934 Number 3

AVAUNT HEROICS!

Note: At this writing the American Legion Convention is in session in San Francisco, proposing measures of Fascism to be enacted into law which would sentence to death, or to an imprisonment of from five to one hundred years, any person who advocates any change of government, or ventures to show any sympathy with what Legionnaires and their kind would dub as radical opinion. Sunday, representatives of the Legionnaires, official spokesmen for this American Hitlerism, were invited to fill many of the most prominent pulpits in San Francisco, and "special services" were arranged to pay honor to these proponents of American Fascism. The verse which follows is an outcome of this situation.—R. W.

Be done with fulsome praise and boast
Above the soldier dead!
With reminiscence of the host
Our folly hell-ward led.
Let those who yet survive the fray,—
The murder-mucking fen,—
Forget the wrong, if so they may,
Nor tell the shame again.

O God! if Thou canst yet forgive
Our more than stupid ways,
The vast hypocrisies we live
The while we give Thee praise,
In mercy Thy unclouded eyes
Avert to other stars,
As here we wallow in the lies,
And lick the sores of wars!

Compassion to Thy utmost, Lord,
We crave for humankind,
This milling, marching, mouthing horde,
So more than mad and blind;
These priests, whose altars of the Christ
They proudly dedicate
To bless the sacrilegious tryst
Where War and Worship mate.

Ye salt winds blowing from the sea!
Ye fogs that veil the sun!
Cleanse us of this iniquity,
Or cloak us while undone.
Till all the far-flung falsehoods pass
That man has gloried long,
And Earth shall hail one anthem, as
Peace claims man's every song.

ROBERT WHITAKER

A friend, returned from Europe, writes us:

I find conditions in America far better than abroad. Here in New York one sees no signs of any depression. Indeed, every thing has the appearance of prosperity.

Yet in New York there are 300,000 families, one-fifth the population, on government relief! In the Boston *Herald* recently appeared this editorial note:

The attendance at the Brockton Fair Saturday, the business done by the scores of concessionaires, the jam of automobiles and the selling out of evening seats for the grandstand in the middle of the afternoon all make another of the phenomena which are so puzzling in these days of industrial depression. As at Narragansett and Rockingham parks, the people seem to have a great deal of loose change. The contrast between millions on the unemployment relief lists and great throngs spending freely for rather expensive diversions is something for the social philosophers to explain.

We know of no phenomenon of the time to compare in interest and significance with this contrast between the great depression on the one hand and the status of plenty of money on the other. Here is business at the lowest ebb since President Roosevelt took office, the relief rolls steadily increasing to an anticipated total this coming winter of 5,000,000 families, the greatest textile strike in history paralyzing the East and South, city and state governments in bankruptcy, prices soaring, production dropping—and yet there are oodles of money all around us. The race tracks are thronged with thousands laden with betting cash, the baseball parks are packed with the largest crowds in many years (62,500 persons at the New York Polo Grounds on a recent Sunday!), the autumn fairs (in the ruined rural districts!) have been enormously successful, automobile manufacturers have had a boom year and the highways are jammed with bright new cars, the international yacht races draw more than 20,000 sightseers in every variety of luxurious craft. Outwardly, at least, these are the days of Coolidge. What's the explanation? Is the depression a "fake"? Are the people spending on the theory that they might as well get something for such money as they have while it is still worth something? Are they becoming wastrels on the theory that the government will take care of them anyhow? Are they trying to forget their worries and cares in a wild good time? Is distribution still so inequitable that luxury and poverty are still partners? These are pertinent questions. Who can answer them?

The great textile strike, which may or may not be ended when this editorial is printed, has achieved

one thing at least. It has shown how utterly the NRA is committed to the interests of capital and opposed to the interests of labor. If the workers have ever had any idea that this administration is interested in their cause, or that the codes meant for them any liberation or even recognition, or more specifically, that paragraph 7a in the Law ever meant anything, they are now sadly deceived, as in years gone by they have been deceived so many times before. A little incident took place in New York the other day which was eloquent in its significance. There was a great meeting of NRA administrators—the picked men of the bureaucracy who are today conducting industry, and incidentally determining the relations between employers and employees. General Johnson was speaking to these staff officers of his, supposedly making a report of NRA activities. Suddenly, without warning, he launched into a furious denunciation of the textile strike, declared that the strike leaders had violated their pledges and agreements (which happens to be untrue!), and said pathetically that his heart wept when he thought of Mr. Sloane, the head of the textile operators. And this great audience of 3,000 NRA officials, we are told, greeted this statement with a tremendous outburst of applause which the reporters thought would never end. Here is the first and the best of the Codes, affecting the lives of hundreds of thousands of working men and women, utterly broken down on labor's side, and the whole weight of government thrown against the multitudes of good, sound American citizens who have revolted in outrage and disgust! Do we wonder that these textile operatives, our good neighbors in Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and elsewhere, are battling to the death, and talk easily these days of revolution? And if there be those who think us wrong in this labor issue, we ask such to read the whole story of labor and the NRA in Mary Van Kleek's chapter in the new book, "Challenge to the New Deal."

It is difficult to get excited over the reports of the arms and munitions investigation in Washington, though the newspapers are commendably playing up the able and courageous work of Senator Nye and his associates. In spite of our great concern over the whole situation, we find ourselves confronting two facts. First, there is nothing new in anything that this investigation has thus far unearthed. That the manufacture of munitions is an international business, that the arms makers are in collusion with one another and sell indifferently to friends and enemies alike, that the agents of these manufacturers bribe high government officials to buy their wares, that these agents break down peace conferences and foment wars, that Basil Zaharoff is the black spider squatting flatly at the center of the whole monstrous web of intrigue and profit-making—all this is nothing new. We have known it all before, as see the famous article in *Fortune,* and the two books by Engelbrecht and Seldes respectively. Secondly, granted all these shocking facts, what are we here in America going to do about it? What *can* we do about it? This armaments business is essentially an international affair, and calls therefore for international action. O, yes, we could put our arms and munitions manufacturers *hors de combat* by taking over the whole enterprise as a government affair, and this would be a good thing for our conscience and our purse, and as an example to the world. *We are all for it!* But reason reminds us that this action would leave untouched the vast realm of Vickers, Schneider-Creusot, Krupp, and Skoda. No, this problem belongs to the nations together, and by these nations in common action must the way of deliverance be found. Which makes melancholy and even terrifying the recent announcements that Britain is to increase her air force to match her most formidable competitors, that Japan is preparing to denounce the Washington and London naval treaties, and that Henderson and Barthou have indefinitely postponed further discussion of disarmament!

The success of the boycott against Nazi Germany is established beyond all denial. It is shown by the economic confusion in Germany, and the desperate political measures taken to meet this confusion. But it is shown still more conclusively by the actual facts and figures of German trade. These statistics are astounding. Take, for example, the matter of the trade balance of the Reich with the world at large. In 1932, the pre-Hitler year, this balance amounted to R M 1,035,600,000. In 1933, the first Hitler year, this balance had been reduced to R M 667,400,000. In the first six months of the second Hitler year, 1934, the balance amounted to only R M 216,300,000, which seems to indicate a total for the year of less than R M 400,000,000. Figures covering trade with the United States, where the boycott is most largely and effectively organized, are equally significant. Comparing the first quarter of the pre-Hitler year, 1932, with the first quarter of the present Hitler year, 1934, January to March, and we find that the total value of articles exported by Germany to this country has dropped from R M 76,767,000 to R M 37,200,000, or more than one-half. If a full twelve-month be taken, by comparing the pre-Hitler year, 1932, with

the Hitler year, 1933, it is found that the value of these German exports has decreased from R M 281,202,000 to R M 245,852,000, a loss of R M 35,-350,000. It is true that the U. S. Department of Commerce records an increase in value of German exports for this period of $4,595,968, but this is only one more little example of what President Roosevelt's juggling with the currency has done. The gold value of these exports was nearly $14,000,000 *less* than the inflated value, which wipes out the increase by something like $9,000,000. (Incidentally, this is a beautiful illustration of how much government statistics of business recovery are actually worth!) The right and wrong of this German boycott may still be open to discussion, but not its effectiveness. Our own belief, or at least hope, is that the boycott will destroy Hitler before Hitler can destroy Germany and Europe.

There are lots of things in this world that we are sick and tired of, and one especially is the growing habit these days of blaming everything that happens on the Communists. We have no particular liking for the Communists ourself—we have found them a doctrinaire, cantankerous, and frequently unreliable crowd. But the idea that, every time a disturbance breaks out, or a train is wrecked, or a manhole blows up, or a cellar is flooded, or a letter is lost in the mails, the Communists are to blame, is not only "bunk," but as a matter of fact is evidence of the mental incompetency of those announcing it. The San Francisco general strike, for example, was attributed to the "Reds." That there were "Reds" involved in it, we have no doubt, just as there were Socialists, Democrats, trades unionists, workers, and plain, ordinary citizens by the thousands so involved. But the cause of that strike was in San Francisco, not in Moscow, and involved the NRA and not the U. S. S. R. The burning of the unfortunate steamship, Morro Castle, was similarly explained as a Communist plot. Plot for what, to what end, for what reason? If anybody can make a logical, or even illogical, connection between the proletarian revolution and the burning alive at sea not only of middle class passengers, but also of proletarian seamen, we should like to see it. The Communists may be agitators and rebels and fanatics, but they are not arsonists. And now the great textile strike is explained as Communism in violent eruption. Said the Governor of Rhode Island, in his message convening an extraordinary session of the Legislature, "We are face to face now, not with a textile strike, but with a Communist uprising." Nonsense! You are face to face, Governor, with a great mass of American workers outraged by the betrayal of a government which has handed them over to fresh exploitation under the NRA. It is a sound principle of logic that one shall not resort to the remote and extraordinary explanation of a phenomenon until one has exhausted the nearer and normal explanations. Such explanations of what is going on in this country today are abundant enough, only we don't want to see them. So we seek a scapegoat—and the Communists are handy!

It is amusing to watch how the newspapers have been discovering Upton Sinclair since he walked off with the Democratic nomination for the governship in California. Imagine, *discovering* Upton Sinclair! This man is over sixty years of age, and all his mature life has in one way or another been conspicuous in our American life. For forty years at least he has been an author recognized abroad, if not at home, as one of our few contemporary literary immortals. As a leading Socialist he has for more than a generation, with voice and pen, led the van of social reform. Yet our newspapers are just now discovering him! The reporters tell us, with apparent amazement, that Sinclair is as personally attractive and charming as the President. There are those who have not had to wait for a victory in the California primaries to realize this fact! We read that, in his interviews, Sinclair reveals a clear, brilliant, creative mind. As though a mind of this pattern had not been revealed years ago in pamphlets and books by the dozen! The Washington journalists were impressed by Sinclair's grasp of economic and political reality, and his really able plan for recovery. Well, well, what have these journalists been doing all these days that they have known nothing of these facts long since? It was at least thirty years ago that Upton Sinclair prophesied in so many words the present collapse of capitalism, and steadily through all this time he has been pointing the way out. It only goes to show how many persons, even newspaper men trained to observe and report, can live in the world and remain oblivious of the most important things therein, and shed floods of light upon the curious circumstance of posterity's again and again discovering what the contemporaneous age didn't have wits enough to see. Thanks to a political accident, Upton Sinclair has at last come into his own, during his lifetime, as one of our great Americans. Whether he wins or loses in the forthcoming election in California, his position in this country, as a leader and thinker of outstanding importance, is definitely assured.

The story of Catherine Breshkovskaya, "the Grandmother of the Russian Revolution," dead on

September 12th, is one of the great hero sagas of all time. To read the story of this woman, as told in Alice Stone Blackwell's well-known volume, is an unforgettable experience, partly for the sheer thrill and excitement of the narrative, mostly for the awe stirred in one's heart at the spectacle of such sublime sacrifice and suffering for a holy cause. Catherine, be it remembered, was a noblewoman, born under the Tsars to wealth, ease, happiness, and high aristocratic position. Had she been content to live luxuriously and marry conspicuously, she could have lived out her days in courtly splendor. But early she found herself touched with shame and horror by the degradation of the Russian peasantry, and caught by a great vision of the liberation of these dark masses of ignorant, superstitious, helpless men and women. So, as a young, fair, ardent maiden, she went out into the villages, to live with the peasants, to teach them, and to stir them to revolt. Almost from the beginning she was a revolutionist, and paid the cruel penalty of more than thirty years of hideous imprisonment. In the dread dungeons of the Peter and Paul fortress in St. Petersburg, in the icy wastes of Siberia, in the black pits of the Kara coal mines, she spent her bitter days, as powerful, in her captivity and exile as in her freedom, since her name had become a legend and a sign through all of Russia. What wonder that, when the Czar fell in 1917, the revolutionary government sent a private train to rescue her in Siberia and bear her in triumph to the capital! She had lived to see her cause victorious. But then came tragedy! For Catherine was a liberal and democrat of the 19th century tradition, and thus opposed to Bolshevism. She could reconcile herself as little to Lenin as to Nicholas, and so, ever faithful to her convictions, she became an exile once again. And now in Czecho-Slovakia she has died—one of the supreme saints and heroes of all time. We met her once—held her gnarled hand, and looked into her sweet, gentle, scar-stained countenance. It was a sacred moment!

Jottings

To give approval to Mussolini goes against our grain. But when the Duce orders his cabinet ministers to take their place in the army and go through the summer's military maneuvers, we say Amen, and *Amen*. Now put these politicians in the battlefront, along with the generals of the high command! War would end, we venture to say, before an order could be given, much less obeyed, to go over the top.

Hitler has declared that affairs in Germany are now fixed "for a thousand years." Thank heaven, one of our world problems is settled!

The English parachute-jumper who leaped out of a balloon, only to fall into a lions den, must have felt like the American who has been jumping out of the Depression balloon with an NRA parachute, only to fall into the den of High Prices.

A Canadian farmer was arrested, tried, and convicted for sowing noxious weeds in his neighbor's fields and thus ruining his crops. It was unlucky for this offender that he was not an American. In this country he would have received a fat check from the government for cutting down the surplus.

Judging from the number, size and variety of stamps put out by the Post Office Department under the rule of "Jim" Farley, the government has among its other functions that of a cheap advertising agency. We don't wonder that Farley is known to his pals as "Sunny Jim," a character born in one of the most famous of American advertising campaigns.

Upton Sinclair's E P I C plan may become an *epic* in the history of American politics.

J. H. H.

Bananas for the Monkey

Bells—temple bells—called them from their pursuits; called all humanity that would to come to worship; summoned the guilty and the sad; beckoned the curious and the simple; notified the weary and the devout; commanded the wayward; halted the esthetic; welcomed the anxious—temple bells. The housewife bundled up her infant. . . . The merchant shut his books. . . . The harlot ceased her tinting. . . . The executioner dropped his axe. . . . Temple bells.

Before their altars now they stand gibbering and chattering rote-learned eulogies to the heritage they claim with the Great Intellect. It is the same ritual that their fathers heard, and they, in imitation, now respond. And meanwhile they peer furtively around about them for choice bits of news with which to garnish the dull routine of their existence—bananas for the monkeys.

WALTER WEBSTER ARGOW.

Jesus and Jew-Baiting

Some four or five years ago *The Christian Century* carried a criticism of Jesus, and the New Testament biographers of Jesus, which to my surprise elicited no protest nor comment of any kind from its correspondents so far as the Correspondence Department indicated. The article was from the pen of a certain Professor Douglass, who at the time was listed as one of the faculty of the University of Southern California, until recently under Methodist auspices. Later the writer of the article expanded his criticism into a book, which seems to have awakened no particular response. Both the article and the book laid the current anti-Semitism at the door of Jesus and his biographers.

In brief, the article stressed two lines of argument. First, that Jesus and his biographers exhibited only the unfavorable aspects of contemporary Jewish life, and therefore, gave an altogether one-sided picture of the Jew. The second indictment, which was in a measure also an apology, was to the effect that Bible writers were prone to an exaggerated style, *"giantesque diction,"* the writer called it, and thereby heightened the ill effect of their one-sided presentation of Jewish character and action. The writer concluded that the Pharisees of Jesus' time were probably on the whole not so very different from the ordinary run of respectable folks today.

This last may be granted without saying very much for the Pharisees, and, in fact, if necessary to a real understanding of the very important emphasis which Jesus laid upon the criticism of "good people," and the "goodness" and "religiousness" of his day. Defective goodness is, and always been, vastly more mischievous than outright wickedness, and the failure to apprehend this fact marks the outstanding difference between Jesus and his followers in all ages. But it is not of this I wish to write at length at this time. I am concerned here with the issue which Dr. John Haynes Holmes has raised anew in a recent article as to the measure in which anti-Semitism harks back to the New Testament story. Nor is my concern a defense of Jesus or the New Testament writers, but rather with the analysis of our own reaction toward the Jews. Do we get our antipathy toward the Jew, if such antipathy we have, from religious traditionalism, or is that antipathy rooted in factors of wider range and more everyday character?

Dr. Holmes rests his argument largely upon a study of the Life of Jesus as presented by Charles Dickens, in a manuscript from the pen of the famous English novelist, which has been exploited recently in the American daily press.

Now I have to confess that I have never read Dickens' "Life of Christ," and did not find it interesting enough to more than dip into it during its publication in our evening paper, the *San Francisco News*. But the issue which Dr. Holmes raises, as to the impression of the Jew which prevails with the ordinary Christian child is one on which I think I may speak out of a much wider and more intimate contact with the mind of the orthodox Christian child.

The small boy who surprised his mother at the moment when she thought she had lulled the child to sleep, by arousing suddenly and inquiring abruptly, "Let me see, mother; when did I first meet you?" might have spoken for me as to my first contact with the Bible. I know no more about when I first got acquainted with the Bible than as to when I first got my impressions of my mother. I grew up with them both. There was no constraint upon me at home toward any theory about the Bible. I read it, as I companioned with my mother, and asked no questions about it, so far as I can recall, except to browse over its pages as freely as I played out of doors. To this day I have such an acquaintance with it that the reading of it is almost needless on my part.

Yet I do not recall ever having had the slightest movement of anti-Jewish prejudice during all the days of my childhood and youth. Nor do I recall ever hearing any expression of such prejudice on the part of any of my schoolmates, either in the public schools, or in the Sunday Schools which I attended. And my contacts were more than ordinarily comprehensive, through years of schooling in the District School out on the Iowa prairies; other years in the Charles Street Grammar School in Waltham, Massachusetts, right down in the Irish-Catholic neighborhood; and other years of travel and widespread contact as a Missionary Superintendent and as evangelist here on the Pacific Coast. Never do I recall a word of criticism of the Jew among orthodox Christian children, nor among Christians generally except as, among adult Christians, *such criticism grew out of actual contact with the Jew.*

If any exception is to be made to the sweeping statement above it has to do with one experience only, when an orthodox Presbyterian fellow-missionary down in old Mexico, back in 1889, reported to me with a laugh a conversation which he had overheard between two Mexican children, the one a Protestant, the other a Catholic. The Protestant had mentioned the fact that Jesus was a Jew, to which the Catholic child gave indignant denial. The Protestant reaction was general amusement.

My first consciousness of anything that differentiated the Jew from other people came just as we were leaving Iowa, in 1879. Father took his three boys with him to the neighboring city of Waverly, fifteen miles away, to outfit us with new suits. The suits were bought from certain Jewish dealers there who wanted fifty dollars for the three suits, very ordinary garments. My father knew cloth as an expert, and offered thirty-three dollars for the suits. The dealer was apparently most indignant, but when father proceeded quietly to lead us out of the store, the dealer came by a series of verbal convulsions, which we youngsters took much more seriously than father did, to my father's price. It was the first time I had ever heard my father question any seller's price, except in a solitary instance of some traveling salesmen who stayed over night with us and who tried to palm off on father a lot of "bargain" cloth. With them, despite their descending scale of price, he refused to make any deal at all. I was amused at the Waverly experience, rather proud of my father's quiet exhibit of acuteness with respect to cloth values, and for the first time conscious of the Jew, though in no otherwise prejudicial way than that Jewish dealers were not to be taken too seriously at the point of price-fixing.

Many years later I was snowbound for almost two weeks in a Pullman car in Southern Oregon. Some

of the passengers were Jews, and a certain assertiveness on their part was evident, to the annoyance of some of the other passengers. Years later yet I had intimate contact with two exceptionally intelligent working men who, by reason of their radical social convictions and their generous gifts to the cause, were closely associated with a radical organization mainly Jewish in membership. They were themselves of foreign birth or extraction, and were tolerant in temper to an unusual degree. Yet they confessed at length that association with their Jewish comrades was difficult, because of a certain unavoidable clannishness which it was impossible to either penetrate or ignore. Neither of them had any religious background of anti-Jewish feeling, nor were they in the least theologically orthodox.

In truth I have found more anti-Jewish feeling among Communists than I ever found among Christians, and that despite their determined supression of it as to any vocal utterance or permissible action of an anti-Jewish character. Often it was there under the surface of a sincerely warm appreciation of their Jewish comrades, and the most hearty cooperation with them. The root of it was not theological, but temperamental, and "habitudinal," if I may use that word beyond the dictionary definition of it. That is, the Jew represents a body of high-pressure provincialism which instinctively excites the provincialism of the non-Jew, however intellectually he may abominate all racial antagonisms. It is this, and not religious traditionalism which explains anti-Semitism, though the religious formula is easily enough rallied to its service.

If it be objected to this analysis that anti-Semitism abounds most where religious orthodoxy most abounds the answer is not far to seek. Orthodoxy most abounds at low levels of intelligence, and within areas of social insularity. All prejudice against foreigners is of like origin, want of culture, or want of wide social contact, or both.

The early Christian antagonism toward the Jew was of like character with that which prevails now between ultra-orthodox Communists and the Socialists who were their comrades a generation ago. It was a family quarrel, and grew out of the compulsion of defining differences where such differences were widely denied. The defeat of Jewish nationalism at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, the Roman general, left the Jew without a country, and made him a foreigner in every country, an alienism emphasized by the exclusiveness of Jewish proselytism. Christian evangelism was at an altogether different status, and tended to an eagerness upon the part of Christians to stress their rights as "home people." The isolation of the Jew which followed, and his exclusion from the honorable vocations of the day, together with the compulsion upon him to deal in movable goods, particularly monetary exchange, forced him into the realm of small trade on the one hand, and later into the areas of money-lending, which explain largely both his tendency to barter, and his temperamental aggressiveness. It was so legitimate to beat down prices in Eastern barter that the "Jewish habit," as we have come to think of price-bickering, was inevitable among the poorer Jewish hucksters. On the other hand, the abler and richer Jews were the pioneers of our modern capitalism, and especially the money loaning phases of capitalism, and we can judge from our own present reactions to the bankers how naturally anti-Semitism would function at this point.

To summarize the matter, I am persuaded that the religious origin and basis of anti-Semitism is very much exaggerated. It is fundamentally economic, at least, as it operates in Europe and America. The Jew hurts us at the two points where we are most sensitive, our nationalism and our commercialism, and these, when sufficiently traced, are largely identical. Religion in this instance, as in the instance of the "religious wars" of Europe, is a camouflage. We have made the Jew a foreigner, and a dealer in trade pre-eminently. When Jew and Christian cease to be nationalists and money-grubbers, anti-Semitism will laugh religious traditionalism of a prejudicial character off the boards.

ROBERT WHITAKER.

What Are American Faults?

America has very many virtues. We all know them, but do we know our faults?

1. *Exceptional lawlessness.* About 100,000 homicides in ten years—more than the killed in battle in our five foreign wars combined, and few punished.

2. *Disproportioned expression* of the will of the people: e.g. some Congressmen represent 23,000 constituents, others represent from 50,000 to 79,000.

3. *Minority control.* The two-thirds Senatorial vote necessary to ratify treaties has often defeated the will of the majority of both Senate and people and has allowed 33 Senators to injure hundreds of millions by defeating world progress through international cooperation.

4. *Individualism gone mad.* Building regulations permitting skyscrapers to disgorge thousands into darkened, congested streets; ugly skylines; wooden firetraps; miscellaneous architecture in every block; blatant billboards.

5. *No individualism as to anything else.* Standardized living; fear of not doing as everybody else does, of not echoing what everyone else says. Fashion preferred to beauty.

6. *Intolerance.* As shown by lynching, now somewhat lessened, formerly the Ku Klux.

7. *Interest in nonessentials vs. essentials.* Spending as much money for candy, chewing gum, and cosmetics as would educate our 24 percent adults who are almost illiterates. Inertia, shirking civic responsibility; more enthusiasm over contract bridge, sporting news than zeal to prevent another war by lessening our narrow nationalism and costly, futile naval rivalry.

8. *Reckless waste.* Forests, topsoil, and other national resources.

9. *Irreverence.* As to religion, marriage, civic and parental obligations.

10. *Defense not proportioned to danger.* 600,000 dying annually from preventable causes; yet, though no nation ever declared war against us, and none will, and we, protected by two oceans and a safe, unguarded Canadian frontier, spend as much for defense against hypothetical foreign foes as might save these 600,000 lives.

11. A press, much of which outrageously overemphasizes crime and trivialities and lowers the moral tone of millions of readers.

These are individual and collective faults for which a previous generation was partly to blame.

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

Pay Checks and Bread Lines

One Cause of the Depression

The over-production and faulty distribution which, as so many economists have recently told us, have been so largely instrumental in bringing about the current economic crisis, and which no act of the Roosevelt administration has so far been able to remedy, are nowhere more marked than in the plethora of essays and articles and books analyzing our unhappy situation. In the writing of inquiries into the depression there is indeed no depression! The patient has almost as many diagnosticians as he has disease-microbes. But for the most part these studies, excellent and timely as they may be, lack one important factor—the presentation of some one graphic "text" that can readily be visualized and remembered substantially as a whole. The provision of such a clarifying text is my excuse for venturing into the crowded field of the depression-inquisitors.

In limiting this brief study to a single fundamental agent, I do not mean to imply that our recurrent panics are due to any one single cause. Many other factors are, of course, involved, both as causes and as effects. The objective in this article is merely to demonstrate that there is at least one factor so fundamental in its consequences that all other discussion of causes and remedies must take cognizance of its basic implications, and that no proposed anti-panic measures can possibly be permanently effective until this more basic situation is taken fully into account. Other constituents have been more or less emphasized and analyzed elsewhere, and may here be taken for granted.

Expressed in words, always more confronting to the general reader than charts and numerals, the figures I present here reveal within the smallest possible compass the essential data for any real understanding of the most fundamental maladjustment in our industrial system, and point the way toward a real solution of our economic and social difficulties. It seems to be generally accepted nowadays that our instruments and methods of production are quite adequate to supply the nation with an abundance of all things required for the maintenance of a reasonably high standard of living, even for the humblest of our useful citizens. Our present troubles, it is now universally admitted, arises, in large part at least, from an inadequate system of distribution of the products of our vast mines, mills, and factories. It is also conceded that we are not producing more than we *can* consume, or more than we desire to consume, but that we are producing far more than we *may* consume under the prevailing conditions. The table following, based upon the successive Federal Census reports, shows quite clearly one reason why this is true. For some cause, the officials of the Bureau of Manufacturers have not deemed it advisable to set forth the results of their labors in the form here presented.

Analysis of the gross totals published by our government reveals the fact, in simple and unmistakable figures, that the annual value of the product of the millions of wage-earners employed in our factories has progressively outrun the more tardily augmented purchasing power of the workers who produce the goods, leaving an ever-growing divergence between the average annual wages paid and the average value of the product per wage-earner. For example, whereas the disparity between the average annual wage and the value of the product per worker was but $565 in 1849, by 1889 this difference had risen to $1,760; by 1909 to $3,606; and in 1929 to the (relatively) enormous sum of $6,628!

	1849	1859	1869	1879	1889
Average Wage.....	$ 247	$ 288	$ 302	$ 346	$ 444
Value of Product per Worker	812	1438	1648	1965	2204
Difference between Average Wage and Value of Product.	565	1150	1346	1619	1760
		1899	1909	1919	1929
Average Wage.....		$437	$518	$1162	$1322
Value of Product per Worker		2450	3124	6893	7940
Difference between Average Wage and Value of Product.		2013	3606	5731	6628

It should be noted that whereas the value of the product per worker in 1899 was $2,450, the average wage was but $437, $7 less than it was ten years earlier (1889), when the value of the product was $2,204, and the wage $444. "Speeding up production" was "rewarded" by a decrease in wages! In 1919, when the average value of the product rose to $6,893, the average wage was but $1,162; and in 1929—when the product rose to the high value of $7,940—the peak average wage for peace-time was reached—namely, $1,322; while the difference between the average wage and the value of the product in that year was, as said, $6,628.

Now, a man cannot for long spend more than he makes—not, in any event, while he keeps clear of the police! So John Smith, who earned $1,322 in 1929, produced $7,940 worth of goods, leaving $6,628 value of goods he would very much like to have, but lacked the money to buy. This means that somebody else, not an industrial worker, had to buy the $6,628 worth, while John went without many of the articles or services commonly included, among better-paid workers, among necessaries—such as seeing one's dentist "at least twice a year." But we shall go further into the implications of this table later on.

The exigencies of the World War, and the demand for workers for a decade thereafter (under installment plan buying) more than doubled the average annual wage of the factory worker. But it also more than doubled the money value, or purchasing price, of his product, per worker, and therefore meant little absolute advantage to him as a consumer, apart from the very significant fact that at least he had a job. Ordinarily, decade after decade, wage-rate and living-cost rise or fall together, for reasons which need not be considered at present.

It should be noted in this connection that whereas the wealth of the United States increased from $190,713,000,000 in 1913 to $361,800,000,000 in 1929 (an increase of between 47 and 48%), the wealth of the average wage-earner increased little, if at all. By 1932, whatever small gains he had made during the preceding twenty years had been lost. Today the working class as a class is virtually bankrupt, millions of its members reduced to literal (or legal) pauperism. Meanwhile, the per capita wealth of the nation increased, during the past decade, from $1,950 to $2,918, a rise of 49.6%.

But in July, 1931, there were placed on sale 300,000 parcels of Cook county, Illinois, real estate, because of delinquent 1930 taxes—thus, as the Russians would say, liquidating the previous gains of the bread-winners. As everyone knows, this activity of the Sheriff's office is being duplicated in virtually every state of the Union. In Chicago, 40% of the workers who were gainfully employed in 1929 are now virtually paupers, begging for food and shelter.

Just here it might be profitable to note that improvements in methods of production inevitably lead to a relative decrease in the number of employees in relation to increased value of the product. For example, while the total value of manufactured products had reached the high point of $70,137,459,532 in 1929, there was a decrease in the number of workers employed, during the period 1919-1929, of 4.2%. Meanwhile, as stated above, the value of the product per employee rose from $3,124 in 1909 to $6,893 in 1919, and $7,940 in 1929. But let us analyze briefly a few more important facts set forth in the table.

To quote the actual figures furnished by the Census Bureau: whereas the 8,807,536 wage-earners in our factories (average for the year) in 1929 produced goods whose total value was given as $70,137,459,532, they received in payment for their skill and labor-power but $11,649,536,855; the difference between the wages paid and the value of the product being, in round numbers, $58,487,922,677. We are not concerned here with costs of materials, improvement of plants, interest on money invested, insurance, etc. What must be emphasized for present purposes, is the lowest line of figures in the table—the rapidly augmented difference between the annual earnings of the average industrial worker and the money value of his product—in 1929, $6,628 per worker, as compared with $565 in 1849. John Smith's great-grandfather, if he saved nothing on his princely average wage of $247 a year, at least fell only $565 short of being able to buy the product of his toil; John himself earned $1,322 in 1929, but he fell $5,606 short of being able to buy what he had produced. He *earned* more than five times as much as his great-grandfather, *in appearance;* actually, his great-grandfather realized in wages almost a third of the value of his product, whereas he himself in 1929 received less than a sixth of the value of his product. At the present time, he, along with some ten millions of his kind, may be earning nothing at all, largely (though not solely) because of this progressive increase in production with concurrent decrease in consuming-ability—or, in reality, purchasing-power. Unless rational remedial measures are adopted, common arithmetic will show that it is only a matter of three or four years until our "unemployed problem" must involve no fewer than twenty million workers, with a concomitant decrease in purchasing-power, hence more closed factories, more business failures.

The foregoing figures do not, of course, reveal to us the increasing profit to the manufacturer per worker, but they do show all too clearly the growing disparity, as the years roll by, between average wages paid, and the value of the product per employee, which, together with the inevitable "technological disemployment," creates a vicious circle that can end only in disaster.

We have here, then, a constant, all but automatic factor at work widening the gulf between the purchasing-power of the wage-earners, as a whole, and the value in terms of money of their contribution to the nation's productive forces. There is, contrary to the prevailing fallacy, no problem of over-production of goods involved, though there has undoubtedly been what, under existing conditions, may be considered an over-production of *productive machinery,* in relation to the nation's total purchasing-power. Over-production in the sense that more of any commodity is produced than the population can comfortably use, granting ability to attain possession of it, is as yet unknown in history. Over-production as we have it today means, as everyone probably know, not over-production from the point of view of the consumer's need, but over-production from the point of view of the possibilities of satisfactory *profit* to the owners of the mines, mills, and factories.

The average employer, under our system of "rugged individualism," very naturally aims to sell the products of his factory or mine at a "fair" profit—usually "all the traffic will bear." For lean years may soon follow, when abundant resources alone will forefend against passed dividends or threatened bankruptcy. To be "successful," the average manufacturer must purchase human labor-power, the use of his neighbor's skill, as he does his water- —or electric- —or steam-power—i.e., in the open market, at as low a cost as possible. No moral issue is involved. That "business is business" means simply, taken by and large, and under existing conditions, that business is neither moral nor immoral, but simply amoral; apart from what is sometimes referred to as "business ethics"—which is another story. Business is concerned not with the Golden Rule but with the rule of gold. And no individual is morally responsible for this situation. Given the profit-motive as the law of business, the rest follows as the day the night. If the wage-earners, as a class, are incidentally sacrificed, it is, at all events, in consequence of a social arrangement which they themselves approve.

Now, it is highly important that we know what it is that determines the selling-price of labor-power. The price or cost of labor-power is determined by the average laborer's cost of living—the minimum amount which will keep him alive and well, sufficiently efficient to be able to work, and capable of maintaining a family —i.e., more laborers for the next generation's labor-market. *Both employer and employee* sell what they own for the highest price they can obtain. No question of philanthropy is involved on either side. But all the typical employee owns is his physical strength and what skill he has acquired. The employer owns the machinery of production; and, under the prevailing system, the manufactured goods belong, not to the users of the machines, but to the owners of them; not to the producer, but to his employer. The wage-worker has no legal claim on his employer for a "just share" or for *any* share of the product of his labor at the machine. He does not, as a rule, work on shares—as does, for example, the unfortunate tenant farmer. (The average tenant crop of cotton is six bales—value, $150!) The owner of a farm, like the owner of a factory, mill, or mine, must realize a profit on what he owns. The wage-earner, or tenant-farmer, owns only his energy, his skill, and his time, which he must sell for what they will bring in the labor-power market, by the hour or day or season. There his private interests in the manufacturing industry end. It is mutually agreed upon that the full product of the wage-earner's skill and industry be-

longs to his employer, to dispose of on his own terms; what the worker has sold to his employer is his time, energy, and skill, which, to the latter, are only an element in the cost of manufacture, to be reckoned with in determining sale-price, or profits.

Under ordinary circumstances, there are far more eager applicants for jobs than can be employed profitably. An "over-production" of labor-power (i.e., of wage-workers), like an over-production of phonographs or onions, leads to merciless competition. Labor-power over-production means a competitive scramble for jobs; and to lowered prices for labor-power, among skilled and so-called unskilled workers alike. But the typical wage-earner cannot, for any extended period, sell his labor-power at a rate lower than the cost of its production (his maintenace, and, normally, the maintenance of his young children). If the price of necessary commodities—the cost of living—rises, so does the cost of labor-power, or wages, and *vice versa*. The curves on a chart showing purchasing-power of the dollar, year by year, and pay-roll series, are usually not far apart, though in some individual years they may deviate somewhat in their rise and fall.

As the foregoing table has shown very clearly, the amount of wages paid in any given instance bears no essential relation to the commercial (sales) value of the worker's finished product. A rise in the cost of living implies and involves, though not always very promptly, an increase in the average wage of the workers—but within very narrow limits. Rising prices indicate, usually, an increase in the demand for labor, hence a less desperate competition among wage-earners for "a job at any price." Food, clothing, and shelter are, naturally, a prerequisite to the production of efficient labor-power. The production of human energy costs money, just as does the production of electrical energy. But the accepted rule is to keep the cost of labor-power at a minimum. Under our industrial regime there is no obligation on the part of an employer to pay for labor-power and the worker's time in accord with the much-proclaimed "decent standard of living." Who is to be the judge of what constitutes this standard for a given element of our population?

For example, the necessary expense for "decent" maintenance of the average Ford employee, in 1930, was reported by "experts" to be $1,719.83. The actual average income of 1,740 of these workers was $1,694.63. Moreover, the average annual earnings of all Ford workers during 1931-32 were much less than the 1930 figures. Yet Henry Ford is the leading apostle of "high wages"! At the present time thousands of former Ford employees are suffering from enforced idleness. The tragedy at the gates of his Dearborn plant, when thousands of marchers were hurled back by rifle bullets, clubs, and the powerful streams from fire-hoses, may have been the result of Communist leadership; but the actuating cause of the demonstration was empty stomachs, the cry of hungry babies, and the despair of helpless mothers in sore distress. The fortunate few who now find employment in automobile factories are obliged to accept earnings that, in many cases, range from $600 to $930 a year.

Nor do workers in other industries escape drastic cuts in wages. In fifteen representative industries, many skilled workers (e. g., in the garment industry) are glad to sit at power-machines or do piece-work, for an income of less than $300 a year, working overtime! (These figures come from the Citizens' Committee on Relief and Unemployment of St. Louis.) According to the National Industrial Conference Board, the actual weekly earnings in manufacturing industries declined 27.3% between June, 1929, and June, 1932, while the number of workers employed in June, 1932, was 42.8% of that of June, 1929.

Meanwhile, there has been no actual over-production of automobiles or clothing—nearly every adult in the United States could find a use for new manufactured products. What is called over-production, then, as nearly every thoughtful person now recognizes, is really an acute state of under-consumption. Under-consumption, for most families, is a chronic condition under our present (even the present modified) *laissez-faire* system, as distinguished from a scientific system of production. So-called over-production must inevitably occur at increasingly frequent intervals so long as the total wages and salaries of those who have labor-power and skill to sell in the open market fail to keep pace with the ever-increasing value of the total amount of goods produced.

That small percentage of the population which owns most and produces least, or produces nothing at all, cannot buy and consume the surplus values produced by the actual manufacturers and distributors of these values. Nor can they be bought by any other groups—or they would be! This is self-evident. Heretofore, during brief periods at least, foreign trade, plant expansion, installment buying, etc., have offered an outlet for the total wealth which the wage- and salary-earners produced and of which they could purchase only a restricted fraction. But foreign trade can be systematically extended, or even kept at a high level, only under certain no longer existing world-conditions. That phase of our economic development has passed, never to be revived on a large scale for any length of time. The establishment of important new consuming markets, which will not themselves soon become dangerous competitors, is nearly at an end—unless we can establish commercial contacts with Mars or Venus! "Adequate foreign markets" mean constantly expanding markets; and, as just stated, the era of indefinitely expanding markets is past forever. After all, our planet is an oblate spheroid of very limited extent, so far as world-commerce is concerned.

In 1929 we exported 536,207 automobiles; in 1930, 237,630. Our exports of merchandise declined heavily in 1930, amounting to $3,781,172,000, as compared with $5,157,083,000 in 1929. The recent trend toward a gradually diminishing foreign trade is very pronounced. There is no apparent reason why we should expect that the high-water mark of 1920, namely, $8,080,481,000, will again be reached during the next decade. The total of exports for the eight months ending in August, 1932, amounted to only $1,056,769,000, as compared with $1,661,577,000 in the same period in 1931. The total exports for August, 1932, were $109,000,000, as compared with $164,808,000 in August, 1931. The trend since 1920 has been distinctly downward—e. g., from an annual average of $7,915,148,500 for the two years 1919-1920 to $4,469,127,500 for the years 1929-1930.

Meanwhile, the product per wage-earner in all manufacturing plants increased from about $6900 in 1920 to about $8000 in 1930—with a diminishing outlet for the surplus wealth produced, both in terms of purchasing power in the domestic market and of sales

in foreign markets: in the long run, an untenable situation.

Nothing could be more imbecilic than the widely prevailing delusion that what is needed to "revive industry" and put the wage-earners "back to work" is to expend more money in the expansion of existing productive plants and reduction of wages, in order to "reduce costs," etc. As has frequently been pointed out by experts during the past two years, we already have factories and mills capable of producing four times the amount of goods that we now produce in excess of the people's purchasing power.

The same ominous decrease in the exports of our farm products has taken place. For example, whereas the annual average value of our exports of wheat for the three years 1915-1917 was $282,421,333, the average for the three years 1928-1930 was but $106,493,333. No marvel that our two million wheat farmers are tightening their belts, with bankruptcies in the wheat belt "increasing at a shocking rate." The smallest supply of unsold wheat on hand at any time during 1930 was 107,455,000 bushels, valued at about sixty-five cents per bushel, with no indications that there will be a greater European demand during 1933-1934. Cotton planters have met with equally disastrous reverses. Farm wages (including board) have fallen from the peak of $47.24 a month in 1920 to $31.14 in 1930, with a much smaller average for the years 1931-1932.

Wage-earners, and the middle class who depend almost entirely upon the working class for trade and patronage, together with the farmers, make up by far the largest part of the nation, and therefore, must be depended upon to purchase the products of fields and factories. But their combined purchasing power has been so far reduced that from twelve to fifteen millions of men, women and children, eager to earn what they must consume, walk the streets and highways, jobless and breadless.

Just what the present depression means to factory workers and farmers may be more readily understood when it is considered that more than nine times as much wheat, or more than fourteen times as much cotton, is required to pay for, say, $100 worth of manufactured goods than was necessary in 1917. This applies, also, of course, to the payment of taxes, or meeting the installment on a note at the bank. Where 160 bales of cotton would be sufficient to meet an obligation in 1917, by 1931, 2,183 bales would be required to liquidate the same obligation, or to purchase the same amount of manufactured goods. Or, to put it in another way, in 1917 wheat was sold at $1.70 a bushel, cotton at 45 cents a pound; whereas, in 1931-32 wheat has been sold as low as 40 cents a bushel and cotton at about five cents a pound. Even at such below-cost prices, the demand for farm products is far below the available supply. In at least seven states of the Union—Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Missouri, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan—last year's taxes exceeded the farmer's income. One need not be surprised to learn that there are rural counties in which there is not a single bank left. This condition will not be improved until purchasing power is restored to the workers in factories, mines, and mills. This is the view taken by the United States Department of Agriculture in a recent report on the farm situation, which tells the farmers that they must "look to industries for first signs of general improvement in the domestic demand for farm products"—any material increase in the export trade being quite unlikely for an indefinite period.

But it is largely to farmers that the products of our factories must be sold—farmers' orders must precede the hum of belts and wheels. And here again we have a vicious circle, for wages are being reduced, wage-workers discharged, and farm and orchard products in consequence left to rot on the ground.

The official government statistics, on which the table given in this article was based, show all too clearly that the wage-workers, year after year, for nine decades, commanded in wages an increasingly smaller portion of the wealth they (with the assistance of the salaried office workers, engineers, etc.) produced. By and large, the wage-earners grow ever more dependent, and even poorer, relatively to the wealth they produce; more desperately helpless in the face of unemployment than ever before in the history of this inexhaustibly rich country. While our national wealth increases at the rate of about four per cent annually, our farmers become poorer, our urban workers more tragically destitute, all wage-earners more hopelessly defenseless in times of depression—as millions of them are even in so-called good times.

And so we face today the ugly and shameful spectacle of millions of eager and highly efficient wage-workers, strong and alert; skilled, for the most part, in many complex trades and arts; industrious, sober, and painstaking; in a country of unlimited natural resources, varied climate, superabundant land and woods and streams and fish-thronged lakes and oceans; self-respecting artisans and laborers who have no means of livelihood save the baneful fruits of private or public charity. Yet it is at last being freely admitted on all sides that the only thing lacking for man's comfort and enjoyment is an intelligent application of labor to the cultural wealth at our feet, and the opportunity to enjoy the proceeds of that labor. As is now being said so frequently, we have solved the problem of production through the aid of science, but the problem of distribution has not even been *studied* from a social viewpoint.

Asked what could be done to solve the question of unemployment, the late William Howard Taft, with characteristic frankness, said, "God knows." He could suggest no remedy. Other politicians have alleged remedies in plenty, but all are rendered ineffectual because their first requirement is to be in harmony with the supposed needs of the commercial and industrial groups whom they in fact represent. We do not have unemployment on a large scale because of Republican or Democratic Congressional *laissez faire;* because we have forgotten the frugality or the theology of our ancestors; because of prohibition; because of the gold standard or our present coinage system; because of Wall Street gambling in stocks; because of the entrance of women into industry; because of post-war unsettlement sixteen years after the event; or because of any one or more of the minor contributory reasons advanced by professional and amateur economists. Widespread poverty and unemployment are due far more to the logical implications of the table in this article, than to any other single factor. Many other conditions do, indeed, play their rôle in the tragedy of modern industry and commerce; but the basic maladjustment is clearly shown in these statistical columns.

We shall continue to have recurrent crises (with only ocasional and ever shorter temporary alleviations),

until we elect to face our economic problems honestly, realistically, and scientifically. What we call to day a periodic depression will become ere long our usual and chronic economic condition, unless the actual leaders of American thought and conduct get down to business and recognize, with Bernard Shaw, that "the trouble with the poor is their poverty," and that the now generally accepted social and economic arrangement makes the continuance of undeserved and needless poverty an inevitable part of our economic system. No "New Deal" with the survival of capitalism as its basis can permanently avert depressions. Only a basic change in our aims and methods, our practical and ethical viewpoint, will ever again, for any long period, change American bread lines into queues before the cashier's window.

MAYNARD SHIPLEY.

Nature's Cooperation

By cooperation with the forces of nature, the United States department of agriculture and the state of New Mexico have given to the public an improved highway to a picnic ground and mountain scenes and atmosphere through a picturesque canyon.

It is the Cedro canyon highway that at the village of Tijeras parts to the right from U. S. highway 366 that goes east from the city of Albuquerque.

One mile above the junction of the highways at Tijeras is a good spring on the lower side of the road, and a little farther on is the office of the highway engineers on the upper side of the road.

About halfway between the spring and the above mentioned office is a monument erected by nature in the very bed of the creek or arroyo, giving unquestionable proof of the value of cooperation. It is a limestone rectangular monument, averaging about the height of a man, and four and a half feet long by about the same in width; and almost in the center of the rock is a fair-sized cedar tree, growing in a fissure that almost divides the rock into equal halves.

Years ago the following dialogue ensued in the language of nature, which means facts as they actually occur:

The seed from which this tree grew lodged in the then small crevice in the rock which said, "Grow here, little seed, and you will be a crown of beauty for me, and I shall always protect you."

The seed replied, "But if I grow here I shall become a tree, and enlarge this crevice, and spread you apart."

"That will be better for you. I shall fill the enlarged crevice with soil to nourish you. Stay and grow," the rock entreated, "and we shall protect and glorify each other."

The seed made itself a bed in the handful of earth that had lodged there with it, and sprouted and grew. It drove its roots into the crevices of the rock, and enlarged them, but the rock was never heard to complain.

In the winter the water collected in the fissure and froze with irresistible force which rent the rock. This made the rock groan as it yielded to this merciless force that opened it up further, but it filled the cracks with driftwood and silt that nourished its guest, the growing cedar tree.

The rock remained true to its promise. Rains and heavy spring freshets fell on the deep snow on the mountains above, and turned the dry arroyo into a raging torrent, and large trees that this current uprooted and bore along downstream hit the rock with fierce impact, as if saying enviously, "We grew on the edge of the canyon and the water washed us out, so we shall overthrow this rock where this young upstart dares to grow in the middle of the stream, and to defy the current that washed us away."

Likewise boulders borne along by the current hit the base of the rock as if they were envious of its living crown of beauty, but the rock remained secure, and protected the tree that still is adorning it with its evergreen crown.

If we human beings could fully learn the lesson taught by this silent yet clear-speaking teacher of the value of cooperation we should be more useful in our short lives here.

Those who are fortunate enough to travel the picturesque Cedro canyon highway should notice this humble yet noble work of Mother Nature.

DANIEL S. LEIGHTY.

Materialist

His face, expressionless in death,
  Is not more set and frigid
Than while alive, nor are his hands
  More flatly, dully, rigid.

His vacant brain is full as swift
  To marvel at the wonder;
All the significance of earth's
  Eternal light and thunder.

His heart, in this new, timeless quiet,
  Knows as much devotion
To white-fired love or red-flamed hate,
  Or any high emotion.

The rest of you regret his death,
  Forgetting and forgiving;
I mourn his life, because there was
  So little of him living.

MILLICENT PENNELL SHINE.

Hymn for the Funeral of a Free Minister

Faithful follower of good,
  Freeman when the world was slave;
Modest where self-seekers stood,
  Strong in strife mankind to save!—
Luminous as stars at night
Wends thy spirit from our sight.

Weep we not that thou hast won
  Rest at last from body's thrall;
Thus serenely sinks the sun,
  Answering to Nature's call.
Soul and sun! what warmth and light
Wrought ye both, ere came the night!

Feeble to thy sight and hand
  Were the prizes men might show;
Only proud wast thou to stand
  Where Truth's summons called to go.
Humbly they of kindred pride
Lay this laurel at thy side.

JAMES H. WEST

A Day in a Trappist Monastery

My friends have grown used to seeing me do strange things for a poet has along with his poetic license, the right to be "queer." But these same friends never had the opportunity to engage in such a hearty laugh at my expense as they did when I declared my intention of spending twenty-four hours in a Trappist Monastery; living the life of a Trappist Monk for a night and a day.

I was not in doubt as to the welcome I would receive for I had visited the Monastery, which is known as New Melleray Abbey and which is in Dubuque County twelve miles southwest of Dubuque, many times before. I was personally acquainted with the Superior, the Prior, Procurator, the guest monk and several lay brothers in the community. Although they knew that I was not of their faith they called me their friend and knew that my visits were not merely visits of idle curiosity for they had seen in the only periodical that is permitted at the Monastery poems—which I had written, with the Monastery, the monks, their rituals and the beauties of their buildings and grounds used as subject matter.

I arrived at the Monastery at about 5 o'clock in the afternoon. Brother Bernard, the guest monk, met me at the Lodge and greeted me. A true mystic is this bearded lay brother—a true Saint Francis of Assisi in appearance and in soul. Only thirty-five years old he came into the Monastery at the age of twenty and though quiet and reserved—not given much to words, he has told men in his gentle way that he has found great happiness in the cloister and loves the solitude of this Abbey, which is far from the whirl and noise of city or main traveled road.

At the guest house I registered and was greeted by the guest house master, Brother Pius. This choir monk at the time of my visit was not already fully pledged for a lifetime of service in the Cistercian Order of which the Trappists are a branch. He was completing his fifth year as a novice, but has since taken the life vows. Brother Pius has the brogue of the old sod on his tongue and the ready wit of the Celt. There is a twinkle in his eye. He is the soul of hospitality. Shown to my room he did everything to make me comfortable and placed before me the program that I intended to follow for the next twenty-four hours, giving me to understand that dinner would be ready at 5:45 and telling me that Brother Anthony, who cooks for the guests was already busy in the kitchen and had been informed of my arrival.

The room reminded me of the average room in a well-equipped country hotel or Y. M. C. A.—only a Crucifix on the wall and one or two holy pictures marked the difference between this sleeping room and many that I have occupied before. Steam heat provided the warmth. At the end of the hall was a fine shower bath. The appointments were good and the quiet which pervaded all over the Abbey grounds made one feel that here was a place to rest and meditate. It was an early spring. Outside the windows a peach tree was beginning to show the first green buds. Across the courtyard I could see a brown-robed monk pruning a fruit tree. A hush was on the place except for the occasional twittering of a robin outside the window. The giant pines, which were set out by the first monks who established this community, were swaying in the spring breeze and looked like great green sentinels marching on parade.

A tap at the door and Brother Pius called me to dinner. Dinner in the guest room is served at 5:45. At the table with me was a man who had seen service in the German Army, who had come to this quiet place to recuperate from an operation —a priest from North Dakota also recuperating from an operation was there, as well as other guests. The supper consisted of the excellent home made bread of the Abbey—butter made on the premises, roast ham, watercress, vegetables, tea, and pie baked by Brother Anthony in the kitchen.

At 7:30 I went to the chapel. The office of Compline was chanted by the Choir monks with the lay brothers in attendance. I was the only visitor in the chapel. I listened to the rhythmic office as it reverberated through the great silent place and watched the white and brown robed monks as they knelt in their choir stalls or stood before their great brass bound missals and melodiously intoned the impressive lines of the ritual. After this came the office of Salve followed by litany. The statue of the Virgin Mary was a blaze of light and early spring garden flowers were heaped in profusion about the altar. On one side was the gray-bearded Father Superior Father Bruno Ryan, an intelligent, kindly man, who has been a monk for forty-two years coming to New Melleray Abbey from Ireland some years ago. Father Bruno has made one trip back to Ireland at which time he brought some novices—who still remain as members of the Order. It was a special occasion in the Abbey this night for the Superior General of the Cistercian Order was there on his first visit to America from the Motherhouse in Rome.

Litany was over at 8:00 o'clock and the monks filed out led by the Superior and Prior to go to their cells for a night's rest, because they must be up at 2:00 o'clock in the morning. They sleep on board pallets covered with a thin straw mattress, fully clothed. The Superior occupies a cell among the brothers.

I went to my room and retired. A great hush had fallen on the place. It seemed to me that I had never known such silence. I tried to picture the bearded monks in their robes stretched on their pallets and wondered if their dreams ever took them into the outside world which seemed so far away. The buffetings of my own small world seemed far off indeed. I fell asleep wondering if even God walked on tip-toe when he came to New Melleray Abbey in the night to see that all was well with his sons.

I had scarcely fallen into a doze when a knock at my door brought me up with a start. On opening the door I found two bearded monks—one of them speaking with the accent of his native Ireland and very much excited. They were summoning me to the telephone. Down the long corridor I went

wondering how the outside world, which I had left behind me could possibly find one in this lonely house of prayer. I waited for my telephone connection in the Prior's office. Father Albert, the Prior, is one of the most intelligent men I have ever known and yet modest and unassuming—a true priest—a true mystic, and a real scholar and gentleman. We chatted about various things. His office was crowded with tables on which were piled high papers and manuscripts. The office of the Superior, Prior or Procurator in an Abbey is a most important one and when one stops to think that this community being an agricultural community, which embraces 3,000 acres of land upon which lives some forty souls, self-supporting and self-sufficient, he can realize that aside from the ecclesiastical aspects of the community, it is considerable of a business institution as well. The farm management of the Abbey as well as the business management is placed quite extensively by the Superior in the hands of Father Eugene, the Procurator, a native of Ireland, a man of splendid business ability, keen judgment of men, a priest and a scholar, but at the same time a man with a splendid sense of proportion and inherent love of the soil. Blooded live stock of the Abbey farm and the well-oiled business machinery of the community speak eloquently of his practical nature.

My telephone conversation, which like most telephone conversations, was not of much importance, ended, I went back to my room and it seemed only a few minutes until I heard a knock on my door and a distant tinkle of a bell. I knew the hour of 2:00 o'clock had arrived at which time the monks would arise and go to the first Office of the day, which is Matins. Hastily dressing I walked down the long, dark corridor up the stairs and found my way into the chapel. There was the chill of early spring in the air and the great silent place was dark as the world outside except for one red flickering light above the Altar. Soon I heard the shuffling of many feet as the monks came into the darkened chapel and then there was a long silence. Suddenly the voices of the monks began to chant the imposing lines of the Matins and the whole building seemed pulsing with the poetic rhythms of this first ceremony of the day. Next came Lauds to the Blessed Virgin. These ceremonies continued until 2:30 o'clock. Huddled in my overcoat in a seat in the visitors' chapel I listened and the time seemed to go quickly. From 2:30 to 3:00 o'clock absolute silence as the monks knelt in their chapel at their meditations. At 3:00 o'clock came Canonical Matins and Lauds. This lasted until 3:50 and I a common world man who always found it difficult to arise at 7:00 o'clock sat in the visitors' chapel separated from the monks themselves by iron bars and a curtain and I was fascinated by what was going on beyond me. At 3:50 the Masses began. Here the lay brothers join the choir brothers and at times there are Masses going on the three altars at one time. Still I sat in the chapel oblivious of the fact that I had already spent an hour and fifty minutes and had still three more hours to spend in the pew. The Masses continued to 5:00 o'clock. Then came an interval of nearly 30 minutes, but just before this interval what seemed to me to be a thousand robins tuned their throats outside the windows of the chapel welcoming the new day. During the interval I strolled up the long walk under the giant pine trees. Thousands of robins, cardinals and grackels were singing. I stood under one of the great pines and watched the dawn break in the East. The ringing of the Abbey bell woke me from my reverie. I went back to the chapel again. From 5:30 to 5:45 the Office of Prime was sung. Then there was a brief interval at which time the kind Brother Anthony urged that I eat breakfast, but I wanted to be back in the chapel at 6:45 and so I took a short walk instead, listening to the birds and watching the sun climb up the sky and at 6:45 was back in the chapel again for the Office of Tierce. This was over about 7:00 o'clock and was followed by high Masses until 8:00 o'clock. At 8:00 o'clock breakfast was served.

Ah, the aroma of the coffee—the warmth on the tongue of the griddle cakes—the tastiness of eggs from the Abbey henhouse—after an interval of from 2:00 o'clock till 8:00 for a man who has spent little of his life in places of worship! Yet the six hours seemed short compared with many a period during which I have listened to a speech by some verbose politician.

I spent the forenoon wandering about the Abbey grounds. I strolled through the vineyard. I looked on the flower garden. I saw the sundials Brother Bernard had made with his own hand. I saw the modern barns and splendid herd of Holstein cattle as well as the droves of blooded sheep and hogs. At 10:30 I went again to the chapel to hear the monks chant the Office of Sext. At noon I was again in the dining room and feasting on excellent soup, roast beef, mashed potatoes, peas from the Abbey garden, which had been canned for the winter, bread made in the Abbey bakery and butter from the dairy—all this washed down with copious drafts of buttermilk provided by Brother Anthony in the kitchen and all crowned with two great pieces of home made pie—one apple—one lemon.

At 12:45 I went again to the chapel, for you see I had resolved to go through the entire day with my friends the Trappists and their faithfulness to duty shamed me so that I dare not miss a single ceremony. This after-dinner Office was called None. Part of this Office is chanted and part sung to the accompaniment of Brother Pius, the guest master on the tiny chapel organ. The afternoon was spent remaining in my room and my day was completed by attending the Office of Vespers at 5:00 o'clock. This over I was ready to leave and the gray-haired Superior saw me to my waiting automobile.

"And what time did ye get up?" said the gentle Father Bruno, as we walked toward the car.

"At 2:00 o'clock," was my reply.

Instantly the kindly man was filled with solicitude and expressed his fear that the day had been too strenuous for me.

"But do you not do it every day, Father?" said I, as I swung my grip into the car.

"Ah, yes," he replied. "But, then we're used to it."

As he bade me good-bye he asked me, "And did ye get material for a poem?"

"Yes," I replied, as I took my seat beside

the driver, "much material. But the poem is too great for my feeble gift."

He smiled and I waved him a good-bye as we drove away.

"Yes," I said to myself under my breath, "who could put in a poem the overtones of lives spent in a place such as this where men renounce everything that world folk cherish and give their lives to prayer and meditation, exemplifying day by day the lives of the saints and sending away from their door in great humility those who tarry for a while because of the splendid hospitality they show and the gentleness of their natures; proving by every act indeed that we of the world outside, who try so hard to find happiness in the mad scramble, which we call living, are unsuccessful because we have lost almost entirely the lesson which was heard in the Sermon on the Mount."

JAY G. SIGMUND.

The Study Table

World Significance of Hitlerism*

Herr Hitler, by the plebicite of the 19th of August, has assumed the position of supreme dictator of the German people. He claims not only to be the ruler of Germany with 65,000,000 inhabitants, but has proclaimed his determination to unite 100,000,000 German people, 35,000,000 of whom are now living outside the Reich.

Admirers of Hitler may claim that his mission is to bring about German national unity, and a new awakening of Germany, which will make the German people greater than ever before. They also proclaim that Germany does not wish to acquire anything from other powers but her own security and assertion of equality as a great power; therefore "Germany wants peace!" Hitler himself has often proclaimed that "Germany wishes peace within and outside her frontiers"; and at the same time accused her neighbors of forming a hostile ring around her as they did before the World War.

But no well-informed scholar of international relations, not even the leaders of the Facist Party in Italy, believe in Hitler's profession of peace; and they point out that in his book, *"Mein Kampf,"* and in the program of the National Socialist Party by Herr Feder, the true nature of Hitlerism has been disclosed. They claim that Hitlerism is a menace to the present-day social order as well as to world peace.

What is the world significance of Hitlerism? Many people have tried to answer this question through articles and books; but so far as I know the best answer has been given by Ernst Henri in his book, "Hitler Over Europe."** In this book, the author, who is a scholar and refugee using a pseudonym, gives a dispassionate analysis of the forces behind Hitlerism, their social and economic significance, and international importance. The volume is packed with facts; and in a short article it is impossible to touch upon even the most important points. It should be read by all students of sociology, economics and international relations with great attention. It unmasks various aspects of Hitlerism which affect every civilized man. It presents a terrifying picture of the prospects of our present-day civilization, if Hitlerism succeeds in carrying out its secret objects.

According to the author, Hitlerism is the product of the super-capitalism of Germany. It wishes, in the field of national economy, to use the middle-class of Germany to crush the labor movement and lead German society back to the days of feudalism. In the field of international activities, it is working to assert German supremacy. Herr Thyssen is the head of this German international capitalist oligarchy, directing the machine, using Herr Hitler and his associates as effective and willing tools for his purpose. In the first part of the book, which deals with "The Power Behind Hitler," the author gives a vivid picture of Thyssen's plots against German capitalist groups—especially Catholic and Jewish groups — which wished to co-operate with French capitalists. His international economic program of German supremacy in world economics and commerce is to defeat his foreign competitors in the fields of heavy industries. He is determined to crush the French industrialist group in Lorraine, and their associates in other lands, by acquiring possession or control over the coal and iron mines of Europe. This can be done only if Germany can establish supremacy over her neighbors and establish a new and Greater Germany—a Nordic Central European Nazi Empire. Hitler's racial empire of 100,000,000 Germans is nothing but a cloak for Thyssen's world economic power to be accomplished by carrying out the "Secret Foreign Policy of Germany," which is known among the Nazis as the "Rosenberg Plan."

What is this "Rosenberg Plan"? Herr Rosenberg is a Balt by birth and a naturalized German. He is one of the old associates of Hitler. He heads the National Socialist Party Foreign Office. While Herr von Neurath, the German Foreign Minister, heads the official German Foreign Office, he has very little to do in formulating the foreign policy of Nazi Germany. It is Herr Rosenberg who has laid out a definite program for a Greater Germany which is to be carried out by the National Socialist Party.

"The Rosenberg Plan" prescribes the end of Austria, which is only a South-German clan on the Danube. It prescribes the liquidation of Switzerland, a part of which, a German Alpine branch, must be detached from the unnatural union with French Switzerland, which is a relic of the Middle Ages. It demands the breaking up of Czechoslovakia, in order that German Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia may be brought back to the racial fold. It demands the disintegration of Belgium, the Ger-

*The book of which this article is a review, is a work of the greatest contemporary importance. We therefore allot it exceptional space in our columns. The author of the review is a distinguished international scholar associated with an American university.—Editor.

**"Hitler Over Europe," by Ernst Henri. Published by Simon & Schuster. $2.50.

manic Flemish part of which, together with Brabant and Luxembourg, is (as in the case of Switzerland), to be separated from the French Walloon part. It makes Flanders and Holland, the old German Burgundy, the northwestern part of the racial empire. It incorporates Scandinavia, a fragment of the Nordic-Germanic race, the three states of which lead an unnatural national existence, into the same system. It claims the Baltic and its border states—Finland, Latvia, Esthonia, Lithuania—for the Hitler Empire, as the ancient possessions of the German Livonian Order. It claims Western Flanders and Lorraine from France, South Tyrol from Italy, South Styria from Jugoslavia, Schleswig from Denmark. The power and the sovereignty of this empire—by virtue of this new law of race—must reach wherever even a fragment of the Germanic race has fallen, as far even as Roumania and Jugoslavia with their German colonist districts. This is the Rosenberg doctrine, in which the old Bismarckian state appears only as a province of the whole empire. This is the real political concept and meaning of the "race manifesto" of the Nazis, for which the Jewish problem serves only as a cloak. . . . Anyone who does not see this, anyone who still fulminates against the racial policy of the German Facists from the standpoint of the Jewish question, fails to grasp the essence of Hitlerism and cannot understand it. For it is precisely in this that the enormous advantage for Thyssen of Hitler's racial policy lies. It supplies Thyssen not only with the necessary ideology, but also with the necessary geography. The map of the "Germanic racial empire" is, point for point, identical with the map of the expansion of German heavy industry. The Hitler empire is geographically nothing else but an inherent field for the productive forces of the Ruhr. (Pages 129-131.)

What will be the real significance of the "Germanic Union," of the "Rosenberg Plan" to Europe? Let the author speak for himself:

> It turns the whole continent upside down. It reaches as far as the Atlantic and the Suez Canal on one side, as far as the Arctic Ocean and the Adriatic on the other. It changes the North Sea and the Baltic into German inland lakes. It thrusts back all the other, purely "national" states to the edge of the Continent and turns them into third rate subsidiary structures. It creates within this part of the globe such a gigantic, central block that everything still situated outside it must succumb to the magnetism and the power of this block. It unites in this block all the vital raw materials and food supplies of the Continent. It joins the industrial centres of the Rhine and the peasant plains of the Danube. It combines the most intensive centres of industrial production with one of the mightiest corn-producing zones. It makes Berlin immune for ever from the danger of a new blockade (autarchy). It frees the Ruhr from its dependence on French iron ore (Lorraine and Sweden). It unites all European coal seams outside of England and Russia —the Ruhr, the Sarre, Campine, Limburg, Upper Silesia—into one single block. It provides for this mass of raw materials and manufactured goods an enormous internal market of 100 million customers. It gives the banks of the Ruhr access to fresh strata of population with liquid savings. It wrests from England one of the most important spheres of its commerce and its shipping—North Western Europe (Belgium, Holland, Scandinavia and the Baltic countries). It bars to France and perhaps Italy also, the road to the Balkans and the Near East. It delivers up all the weak peoples south of the Danube and to the west of India into the arbitrary power of the kings of the Ruhr. It creates in the middle of the continent of Europe a separate economic continent for itself. . . . The Germanic Union from the Alps to the Channel makes defence of all these powers illusory and impossible. It crushes France by means of the almost threefold strength of its man-power (100 millions compared with 40), the colossal basis of its mechanical armaments, and vast radius of action of its air fleet. It outflanks the concrete wall of French defences along the eastern frontier by marching in from Holland, or by an operation via Switzerland. It does what it likes militarily with Poland. It holds Italy in check from the Alps and threatens the Mediterranean and France's possessions in North Africa. It paralyses England military by 90 if not 99 per cent. From the Belgium and Dutch North Sea coasts it ends finally and for ever the epoch of splendid isolation of the little island. It mounts long-range guns in the immediate vicinity of the Channel and it establishes air force depots on the coast and its floating aerodromes in the vicinity. Should England attempt to protest, then it is once again "perfidious Albion" and "Gott strafe England." The Germanic Union dictates to Europe, will dictate to the world. And then it will proceed to the second part of its task—the conquest of Russia and the road to Asia—(pages 131-133).

How is this goal of "Germanic Union," and through it world domination to be achieved? It is to be achieved through "Rosenberg's Brown International" and "General Goehring's Air Fleet." It is to be achieved through creating political groups—local Nazi parties—in various countries, which will try to acquire power through every possible means (by the use of the ballot or by revolutionary outbreaks). It is the process of "boring from within," as advocated by Lenin in Russia; but the Nazis have perfected it into a system, or science. For this specific work the Nationalist Socialist Party, through its Ministry of Propaganda and other channels, has spent hundreds of millions of marks. Its effect is evident in Danzig, which is to all intents and purposes a German province. It has created a terrible situation in Austria. In every country bordering Germany, Nazi parties are in operation. The Brown International of Rosenberg, supported by Dr. Goebbel's propaganda machine, is flourishing. It is working for international revolutions which would support world program of Hitlerism.

The guiding group of the National Socialist Party — Hitler-Goehring-Goebbels — realizes that their program of the Germanic Union in Europe will be opposed by a combination of powers. They see in France the most formidable opponent. They wish to carry out a program of isolating France—following the example and tactics of Bismarck—if that is possible. Following this policy they are willing to make peace with Poland, for the time-being. They wish to secure British and Italian aid, or at least neutrality, if that is possible. At the same time they are preparing for the final conflict by which they will crush France first and her allies afterwards. General Goehring and the new General Staff of the National Socialist Party have perfected a New Schlieffen Plan to accomplish this end. The author has treated this subject in the chapter, "Can Germany Win a War?", in an exhaustive and scientific manner. He explains the military aspect of the program as follows:

The National Socialist leaders of Germany know that France is incomparably superior to Germany in artillery, and that French defenses cannot be penetrated by ordinary means of modern warfare. But Germany can leap over French defense-lines and paralyze French military power by using superior air-force and gas-warfare. A powerful air

fleet and dangerously poisonous gas will settle the next war! The strategy will be concentration of vast air-forces and a surprise attack. These air forces of Germany will either fly over Holland or Switzerland to paralyze Paris or Lyons (pages 239-242). This will be done without any declaration of war. For this purpose Germany needs 20,000 high-powered aeroplanes. If Goehring has 20,000 aeroplanes—twice as many as the whole of Europe and three times as many as France and her allies—then only a miracle can prevent Germany's victory in the war.

Given 20,000 aeroplanes, 5,000 are enough to cover the district of the Ruhr and the entire hinterland against any attack by the French air squadron, and 5,000 hold all other possible enemies in check, and with the remaining 10,000 machines the annihilation of France is sealed in one concentric attack, an annihilation such as no German military leader ever dreamt of. This summary outline is absolutely unshakable (pp 242-243).

Germany has tens of thousands of trained pilots and thousands are being trained under the cover of civil aviation and air-sport. But can Germany produce 20,000 fighting planes within a short time? The author gives his detailed proof to the effect that German factories—even automobile factories—are working day and night to produce aeroplanes and the German chemical industry is busy producing poison-gas. All the resources of the German empire are being concentrated upon equipping a vast air-fleet which will be superior to the combined air-fleets of the nations of Europe.

It seems that France and other powers have become conscious of the danger of the "Rosenberg Plan" and Goehring's air fleet. The Franco-Russian alliance and the new security program of various powers of Europe is nothing but a defensive program against the possible German attack. France's program of international control over all forms of aviation—civil aviation included—by a special committee of the League of Nations is a purely defensive measure. The Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin's recent declaration to the effect that "the Rhineland is Britain's new frontiers," and the program of augmenting British air-fleet is Britain's answer to the new challenge of Germany. In fact Britain and France have revived the old "entente cordiale" in a modified form; and the French and British General Staffs are busy exchanging views on a common defense plan. The program of "Eastern Locarno," which has received support from Signor Mussolini and the British cabinet, is to tie up Germany's hands diplomatically, if that is possible.

In fact, the war for German supremacy in Europe is on. It is being waged in Austria and the Saar. German success in Austria is essential to the development of the rest of the "Rosenberg Plan"; and therefore even after the assassination of Chancellor Dollfuss, by Austrian Nazis, the fight is being carried on relentlessly. It is evident that Italy, France and Britain are opposing Germany, under the cover of preservation of Austrian independence. By signing the Pact of Rome, on March 17, 1934, Signor Mussolini laid the foundation of Austro-Hungarian-Italian collaboration, agreed upon by Dollfuss, Gambos and Mussolini. The conference between Signor Mussolini and Chancellor Schuschnig of Austria, held in Florence on August 21, 1934, has strengthened the accord existing between these three nations. It is expected that the coming visit of M. Barthou, the French Foreign Minister to Rome during the middle of October, will cement Franco-Italian collaboration against Germany. Germany is being isolated in Europe; but that does not deter the Hitler-Goehring-Goebbels group from their determination to carry out the "Rosenberg Plan." Germany is waiting for the time when her aeroplane fleet will be ready for action; and then the war in Europe is inevitable. The author thinks that there is a secret treaty of alliance between Japan and Germany; and if a conflict between Japan and Russia breaks out in the Far East, it might be the signal for the outbreak of war in Europe.

It may not be believed that a civilized and Christian people like the Germans will ever deliberately plunge the world into another world war. But it cannot be denied that even a man of the position of Herr von Papen, who is not a Nazi nor a Catholic, has been preaching the glory of war. The Hitler Youths are being trained with new forms of ethics which "will *steel* them" against the ethical and religious views of Christianity which teaches "love thy neighbor" and ideals of "kindness and pity." It is being taught that the Christian conception of piety is weakness and that the youth of Germany should learn to be ruthless against those who stand in the way of fulfiling Germany's mission! Hitlerism is working to bring about a revolution in the field of the socio-ethical life of Germany. This phase of Hitlerism is a great menace to the civilized world.

What is the prospect for the future? Will Hitlerism become supreme in Central Europe, then in Russia, and then in Asia, and thus spread its world domination? If the world opposition to Hitlerism does not organize itself effectively, then it may succeed, at least for a time. But the downfall of Hitlerism will eventually come from the opposition of the German working-class and the lower middle class, which are being reduced to semi-slavery. (Read the chapter on Transformation of the Working Class of Germany into a Sub-human Race, pp. 73-106.) In this connection the author gives detailed information of the underground organization of the forces opposing Hitlerism in Germany (pp. 267-289). It is evident from the votes cast against Hitler, on August 19, 1934, that this opposition is growing, but it is not sufficiently strong to overthrow Hitlerism unless it receives adequate support from all forces opposed to the social, political and international program and the ethical ideals of the National Socialist movement. The author thinks that if Hitlerism is not overthrown before the outbreak of the next war, it will certainly be overthrown by an internal revolution in Germany during or after the said war. The author is convinced that Hitlerism is leading the world into another world war. Is there no way to avert another world calamity? This question can be effectively answered by the statesmen of the world and by those who are genuinely interested in world peace, by their concerted action in this dread hour.

A Student of World Politics.

Correspondence

Returning to God

EDITOR OF UNITY:

Millions need food, clothing, money to relieve their sordid existence. Thousands crave jewels, motor cars, release from toil. But wants are not always necessities. Diamonds, automobiles, hours of leisure do not of themselves yield enduring happiness. Spiritual food is an urgency of the hour. There is a paramount need that men drink of the spiritual waters of life.

Let us make no mistake. Pleasure and happiness are not the same. The quest for pleasure has contributed to the ruin of many an individual, many a nation. The search for happiness leads to strength, poise, peace.

History teaches us that when people have forsaken the moral laws, reverence for God, integrity, simplicity of living, purity, love, in short what we call righteousness, it has only been a question of time when—at first unrecognized by themselves—they have commenced to nationally decay. They have—if surviving—returned to spiritual and material betterment by passing through the gateway of repentance. They have been compelled to change, there has been no other way.

What does genuine repentance involve? It means self-reproach, not hysterically, but sorrowfully. It means restitution for wrongs committed. It means forgiveness. It means an exchange of indifference for the larger outlook, of obduracy for a surrendered heart. Its rewards include the exchange of disordered fancies for inward composure. It offers mental steadiness in daily contacts, a refuge in human fears and storms. Who, if wise, would not prefer to tread the better highway than the stormy paths of deceitful sin?

There are many suggested panaceas for the financial and political ills that harass Christendom today. These will be of small permanent value unless they are accompanied by a humiliating recognition of the reality of sin, a contrite return to God. But let us remember that while the Father of us all in many ways seeks to win the affections of his wayward children, there is no ultimate compulsion with him; the choice is ours.

Whatever may be our religious affiliations, we acknowledge that the re-Crucified One needs faithful witnesses today. Increased church membership may not always synchronize with an enlargement of the spiritual life around us. Suppose the ministers of America cease preaching about many excellent things and, as did the disciples of old, go forth with that initial, telling message, "Repent, Repent, Repent!" Here is the necessary preliminary to a revival of the religious life. It can be proclaimed within the vaulted cathedral, or from the humble soap box. Other services for the Master will as surely follow as midday succeeds the dawn.

In the lofty diction of Paul's letter to the infant church at Ephesus, he welds two short words into an expression of magnificent optimism. When alluding to the one-time sinful life of the members of the little flock in that paganized city, he exclaims: "But God!" Here is our hope; here is the preacher's recompense for personal and secret approach to God. Will not you ministers of Jesus, for a season lay aside your denominational and ecclesiastical conventionalities, your beautiful presentations of our Holy Faith, and reiterate the grand old simple story that God still loves his people, and will grant them a mighty deliverance if they will repent and return to Him?

Denver, Colorado. WILLIAM C. ALLEN.

A Correction

Will our readers please make a correction in issue of September 3. The sentence on page 6, second column, second paragraph, tenth line down should read: "It is for the individual an awareness of contact with that of which man is a part and a *co-operator.*"—[Ed.]

The Field

(*Continued from Page* 42)

or any other signatory nation withdraw from the Pact of Paris.

That is one thing they can not do. For such withdrawal would be tantamount to the adoption of "war as the instrument of national policy," it would in direct effect announce to the world that war and not "pacific means" only would be used in the "settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts."

The soundness of this proposition is reënforced by the desperate efforts of Japan to convince world opinion that it was not violating the Peace Pact because it was exercising merely the inherent right of self-defense against the formidable and aggressive China! Japan thus stoutly denied she was breaking or would ever break the pact.

So much for general encouragement and hope. As the nations lived for centuries under the régime of war we must be a little patient and tolerant if the shadow of war has not been altogether dispelled in the short space of six years. Watch the infant grow. It expresses the moral sense of all the decent people of this planet.

But of course we must do more than hope. We must aid in doing those things that are reasonably necessary to fertilize the fields in which the love of peace can grow into the dominating motive of the peoples of the world. The first and most difficult fallacy to get rid of is that, after all, we must be "realists," that is to say, we must not only keep our powder dry, but we must have lots of it and of guns to put it in.

In short, the war tradition lingers in the lap of peace. While I am not an "orthodox pacifist," peace-at-any-price man, I am unalterably opposed to the philosophy that force can bring peace. Force may have to be used in extremities but it will not bring peace; it never has and never will. Peace does not lurk in brute force any more than justice does.

Now there is a coaxing type of realism, sincere though its advocates may be, which takes on subtle and tempting garbs. For instance: "We should do something against the aggressor nation. That we must do." But after months of deliberation a committee of the League of Nations recently reported that it could not decide whether Bolivia or Paraguay had been the aggressor in the Chaco conflict.

Even historians have had a hard time making similar decisions long

years after a war. And where the case is fairly plain, as in 1931 between China and Japan, the League members, though committed to the powerful articles 10 and 16 of the covenant, could not carry out in terms of force the logic of their own decision. And I for one am proud of the League that it did not attempt to use the equivalent of war in the sacred name of peace.

But I beg to submit a few things we can do to help make the Peace Pact a more living instrument of peace:

1. The League should incorporate the Pact of Paris into its covenant and make it the paramount and controlling principle of the covenant.

2. The United States should justly and deservedly take the lead in cleaning up the economic mess of the World War. For, through economic processes the necessary political changes may best be brought about.

3. Our war debts should be compromised on a basis fairly in line with world financial conditions, but only if the nations will effectively agree upon a five-year holiday in arms construction, to be followed by drastic but equitable reduction in all armaments.

4. The United States should enter the World Court and the court should be given wider power and jurisdiction, but without power to enforce its decisions, for enforcement on a nation requires the equivalent of war.

5. An international agreement should be made, fixing and stabilizing the relative values of currencies, and the restoration of metal values behind governmental money.

These things will bring confidence to business, reopen the channels of international trade, remove many of the causes of international friction, and thus make tremendously for peace.

Once the world gets into the mood and then into the custom of respecting and relying upon the solemn treaty against war, the Pact of Paris will see its day of triumph and the term "family of nations" will take on its intended meaning.—*The Christian Science Monitor.*

In the Face of Hitler!

At the great World Congress of Baptists, held recently in Berlin, Germany, the following resolutions were adopted on the subjects of race and religion:

This congress, representing a world-wide interracial fellowship of Baptists, is rejoiced to know that, despite all differences of race, there is in Christ an all-embracing unity so that in Him it can be claimed with the deepest truth that there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision or non-circumcision, barbarian or Scythian, bond or free; but Christ is all in all.

"This congress deplores and condemns as a violation of the law of God, the Heavenly Father, all racial animosity and every form of oppression and unfair discrimination toward Jews, toward colored people and toward subject races in any part of the world.

"This congress urges the promotion of Christian teaching concerning respect for human personality, regardless of race, and as the surest means of advancing the true brotherhood of all people urges the active propagation of the gospel of Christ throughout the world.

"The members of this congress believe that the church is a company of people of Christ with the Lord himself, according to His promise, in the midst of them that He, by His spirit, guides them into all truth and makes plain to them the will of God for them.

"They hold that any interference with the freedom of the church is an intrusion between God and His people, and that to limit the liberty of the church is to hinder the working out of God's purpose of redemption for mankind through His people.

"They therefore deny the right of the State to interfere in matters of religion and equally the right of any church to enter into such relations with the State as may compromise its witness or limit its freedom to follow the will of Christ as revealed to its members.

"They believe that any system or State establishment of religion tends rather to the secularizing of the church than to the spiritualizing of the State. The church is God's appointed instrument for the redemption of the world, and any infringement of its freedom limits its power to accomplish this task.

"The members of this congress claim for all religious bodies full liberty in the matter of faith and worship and the unrestricted right to preach and to teach the truth as it is revealed to them. They further declare their conviction that the above principles tend to promote the true welfare alike of church and State."

Where Stands the U. S. A.?

Military spokesmen frequently complain because of American unpreparedness and the relative lag in our national defenses as compared with those of other countries. The following figures may be worth considering:

In 1930, the world spent 63 per cent more on armaments than in 1913; in 1930 the armament budget of the United States was 197 per cent greater than in 1913 and recent appropriations will raise this percentage higher. In 1920 the National Guard included 1,939 officers and 47,019 enlisted men; in 1930, the War Department appropriations carried provisions for 190,000 national guardsmen including 14,371 officers. The organized reserves have grown from 68,283 in 1920 to 118,175 in 1929. At present over 140,000 young men of school and college age are enrolled in military training units and rifle clubs in nearly 400 schools and colleges each year. The War Department has assigned about 1,650 professional military instructors to handle these students. In 156, or more than a third, of these units 82,410 cadets, or over half of the total, are enrolled upon a compulsory basis. (Statistics from the "Committee on Militarism in Education.")

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